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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the challenges that Uganda and England have faced in beginning to reestablish community participation in the governance of education. It investigates starting points for the possible development of school-governance systems in both countries. Outlined first are the formats for community involvement that have been adopted in each country. The traditions and current philosophies that support active community involvement in each country are then examined. The paper concludes with a discussion of possible developments in both countries in light of their similarities and differences. Uganda's education system is officially centralized under a Ministry of Education; de facto, however, the system is decentralized because of the Ministry's lack of finance and poor communications infrastructure to link it with district or local staff. England's education system is officially both centralized and decentralized. Patterns of community involvement, their structures and representative mechanisms, powers, and teacher training and duties are remarkably similar for countries with such apparently different cultures. (Contains 80 references.) (LMI)

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Paper for the American Educational Research Association, April 1995

WHO IS ALLOWED TO SPEAK ? AN INTRODUCTORY COMMENTARY ON UGANDAN AND ENGLISH EXPERIENCES OF COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT I N THE CONTROL OF SCHOOLS

James L. Nkata and Angela M. Thody

ED 393 160

Abstract

This paper investigates starting points for the possible power development of school governance systems in Uganda and England. Outlined first are the formats for community involvement which have been adopted in each country. The traditions and current philosophies which support active community involvement in each country are then examined and the paper concludes with discussion of possible developments in both countries in the light of their similarities and differences.

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WHO IS ALLOWED TO SPEAK ? AN INTRODUCTORY COMMENTARY ON UGANDAN AND ENGLISH COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN THE CONTROL OF SCHOOLS

INTRODUCTION - HOW DIFFERENT FROM US ?

Locate the geographical provenance of these two quotations:

1. 'One of the most critical and sensitive matters concerning school governance is the extent and limits of its powers...If there is too little heads may be left too much on their own; too much and the heads may become frustrated by undue interference.'

2. 'The division needs to be made between what constitutes the proper sphere of school staff in the day-to-day running of the school and of governance in the effective oversight of school activities. Policy direction and service delivery need to be distinguished'.

Those who had no difficulty placing these quotations will perhaps, dispute the underlying rationale for this paper : that despite differences between our countries, there are common challenges and solutions to be revealed and alternative solutions to our individual system's problems emanating from experiences in very different cultures. Those who have to read footnote 1 to locate the extracts [1] may be in more immediate sympathy with our aim of trying to discover if two, apparently disparate educational systems, at different stages of development, can usefully exchange ideas in an area of significance to numerous members of the Commonwealth (Gamage, 1992; Cusack, 1994; Martin, 1995).

On coming to power in Uganda in 1986, the first of the National Resistance Movement's Ten Points political program stated that: 'Special emphasis shall be put on POPULAR DEMOCRACY that brings about POPULAR JUSTICE' (Ministry, 1989, Vol. I, p. 5). This belief underlies the lasting existence of Ugandan school management committees controlling individual schools, of the continued importance attached to Ugandan Parent Teacher Associations (P.T.As) and of the attempts to make real the role of the new Resistance Councils (local government units) in the educational provision and policies of their areas. England's attachment to the value of democracy was stated somewhat before 1986, but like Uganda's, it underlies re-development of governing bodies controlling individual schools, P.T. As' existence, belief in the importance of parental involvement in education and the retention of a role for local education authorities (local government units) in the educational provision and policies of their areas.

Such common attachment to the efficacy of community involvement in cultures at different economic and political stages and with vastly different levels of educational resource can lead to generalised explanations being located in Commonwealth culture and in governments' needs to find finance from sources other than central exchequers. Politically, community involvement can deflect attention from national politics and can be seen as a mechanism for avoiding revolution since 'If leaders do not trust their people and allow them adequate voluntary participation, problems will definitely arise' (Kyaligonza, 1991, p.33).

This paper investigates the problems, or challenges, that Uganda and England have faced in beginning to re-establish community participation in the governance of education. The paper investigates starting points for this possible power development in these two countries. Outlined first are the formats for community involvement which have been adopted in each country followed by the traditions and current philosophies which support active community involvement. Possible developments in the light of these comparisons are explored in the second part of the paper.

FORMATS FOR COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Centralisation and decentralisation

Uganda's education system is officially centralised under a Ministry of Education responsible for administration, monitoring, management and planning. De facto, however,

the system is decentralised because of the Ministry's lack of finance and poor communications' infrastructure to link it with district or local staff. District staff find it almost impossible 'to visit schools or to interact with the parents, teachers or headteachers' because of lack of finance, of adequate numbers of district administrators and of transport infrastructure (USAID, 1990, p. 33). Control at the school and local level therefore has great importance.

England's education system is officially both centralised and decentralised. The Department for Education is responsible for monitoring through inspection, for planning, for setting teacher standards and for establishing the National Curriculum. Implementing these responsibilities is devolved to central agencies for a minority of schools (Grant Maintained or City Technology Colleges) and to Local Education Authorities (L.E.As) for the majority of schools. The L.E.As retain some independence to determine what will happen within their own areas. Schools must operate within these controls but can autonomously decide how to allocate their budgets and the ethos (rhetoric?) is of the self-managing school. Control at insitutional level therefore has great importance.

Within the local level, there are three means whereby Uganda's government is gradually encouraging re-emergence of an element of community involvement in school management: School Management Committees, which are the legal owners of schools, Parent Teacher Associations, which raise and control funds, and local Resistance Councils. The possible conflict of interests amongst these three may be adumbrated in those schools where there is also an alumni association raising funds (Kajubi, 1991, p. 325).

The principal means whereby the English government has encouraged community involvement in school management to re-emerge has been through the re-development of school governing bodies, which have begun to assume many of the powers and duties formerly held by the L.E.As, although these continue to exist. Both governing bodies and L.E.As have national pressure groups representing their interests. Schools choose whether or not to have Parent Teacher Associations, or Parent Associations, and there are national and local P.T.As' confederations.

Parent Associations

Until the 1980s, in Uganda, the school management committees (or boards of governors) were the main influence on headteachers' decision making but since the 1980s, the P.T.As have 'assumed a pivotal role in the financing and development of the education system' (Kajubi, 1991, p. 324). P.T.As enable community influence to be strongly mediated outside of the formal governmental system. They have existed for around twenty five years and were initially meant to develop good relations between teachers and parents. They quickly became fund raising agents, persuading parents to contribute significant funds outside of the small school fees that are compulsory. The additional funds support transport, meals, stationery, text books, new buildings, equipment. animals for the school farms and supplements to teachers' salaries[2]. The amount raised accounts for over 70 per cent of school costs. Such contributions can be a considerable strain on family budgets and on some occasions, the Ministry of Education has 'had to intervene to curb the enthusiasm of P.T.As in raising funds' (Kajubi, 1991, p. 325). P.T.A. membership is open to all parents who have children at a school and to all its teachers. Members elect a committee to govern the P.T.A.

P.T.As in England do not have this powerful status. The majority of schools do have such an association,; all parents, and usually teachers, are eligible for membership and the members elect a committee to govern the P.T.A. Sometimes, P.T.A. activists will also be school governors. The P.T.As raise small amounts of money but are generally adverse to increasing this contribution since there is strong feeling that to do so would be to relieve central and local governments of their duty to finance education. The P.T.As would not, therefore, be deemed powerful players in the micro-politics of schools but they are valuable for home-school links and for social interactions.

Local Government

Ugandan Resistance Councils exist at all levels from village to district (or town in the urban areas). The Resistance Councils are intended to enable the National Resistance Government to establish democratic forums across the country and so encourage development of a participatory ethos and of accountability mechanisms. The village resistance councils consist of all residents over the age of 18 and these elect an Executive Committee. All the Resistance Committees in an area form the next higher Resistance Council, eventually culminating in the national legislature.

Resistance Councils above village level have a Local Education Committee specifically for the direction and control of primary and secondary schools. They are not linked to other organs of local government and their members are elected by the people and are responsible to them for the running and performance of schools in their respective areas. The main function of these committees is to ensure implementation of central government policies and to determine, and monitor implementation of, local policies for schooling. They also have a monitoring function to ensure proper management of schools in their areas and for this reason area education officers may attend meetings of school management committees, disciplinary measures against staff must be reported to the assistant education officer (a.e.o.)., a headteacher's annual report must be sent to the a.e.o., the school funds and its spending is checked by the a.e.o. and ten per cent of the school fees must be remitted to the area committee to meet local administrative overheads, insurance and the costs of professional development for teachers. Within each Resistance Council executive committee at village level is a Secretary for Mass Mobilisation and Education who works with the school management committees.

The English L.E.As consist of a locally elected element, the Councillors, who appoint a Chief Education Officer and assistant administrators who are responsible to the L.E.A. From amongst the Councillors, an Education Committee, and sub-Committees, will be selected which, together with the C.E.O. , will determine policy and funding for the area's education, will provide common services, such as curriculum advisory support, will liaise with school governing bodies and which is the teachers' employer. Since the mid-1980s, the L.E.As' powers have leached away to central government and to school governing bodies but their new roles and power is not yet clear. Around ten per cent of educational funds is retained by the L.E.As to meet local administrative overheads and to provide some services such as educational psychologists and payroll facilities.

School Governance

School Management Committees (primary schools) or Boards of Governors (secondary schools), the longest established of Uganda's current forms of community involvement in schools, are composed of local residents. Of the nine members of each Committee, two are elected by the parents, three are selected by the Local Council from amongst community leaders and four are appointed by the Commissioner for Education (Chief Education Officer) after their recommendation by the local Resistance Council. All these appointments are made by teh Minister of Education following local recommendations. The Ugandan government is currently (1994) proposing to increase community representation on school management boards from nine to fifteen. The selection will continue to be made as in the current system but the numbers of community representatives will be increased [3]. Boards of Governors consist of thirteen members: five are appointed by the Ministry of Education, four by the school's founding body and four by the first nine. The chairpersons of these bodies are appointed by the District Education Officer acting on behalf of the Minister for Education. These school governance bodies oversee:

> 'school policy formulation and implementation. Its activities include the supervision of school budgets, the review of educational performance and the oversight of pupil and staff discipline. It also makes plans for school infrastructure expansion (i.e., adding additional grades or parallel streams),

considers repairs, assesses the school's staffing needs, explores possibilities for raising additional funds from the P.T.A. and approves the final budget for the use of these funds' (USAID, 1990, pp. 33-34).

In England, around 95% of schools (approximately 23000 primary, secondary and special) each have a governing body consisting of between two and five elected parent governors, and one or two elected teacher governors, the number of each increasing according to the size of the school; nominees of local political parties, usually in proportion to the representation of these parties in the area (comprising about one quarter of the governing body); co-optees selected by the preceding three groups acting collectively. Co-optees may represent local community interests or may be anyone interested in the school. Before selecting co-optees, governors are enjoined to ensure that there is at least one representative of local businesses amongst the governors already and if this is not the case, then an appropriate representative should be co-opted [4]. Parent governors, local authority governors and co-opted governors together make up 75% of the governing body. The remaining 25% will include the one or two teachers and a variety of other nominated people such as those representing lower tier local government bodies, charitable trusts which founded schools which have since become publicly maintained, and non-teaching staff and the principal (the latter may choose whether or not to be a voting governor but will always be present at meetings).

The term of office of England's governors varies; usually, governors are expected to serve for four years but some remain for considerably longer periods and some depart after one or two years. The powers of this type of governing body can be summarised as: planning the school's policies, deciding how the funds will be allocated amongst the planned policies (English schools have power to decide how almost 95% of their income is allocated), appointing (and dismissing) staff and determining policies for the admission of pupils. Governing bodies appoint the headteachers and determine their salaries.

English school governing bodies are considered accountable to central government for the successful operation of their schools. Inspectors visit each school once every four years and governors of those schools which are deemed to fail this inspection can be dismissed. Some of the governors could also be said to be accountable to parents since they are elected by them but there is no mechanism for dismissal of governors by dissatisfied parents and the electoral mechanism does not mandate the parent governors. Some of the governors could be deemed accountable to the Local Education Authority which appoints them and these can be removed if the local authority feels they are not adequately representing local authority views.

TRADITIONS AND CURRENT PHILOSOPHIES SUPPORTING ACTIVE COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Ugandan and English educational initiatives emerged from community establishment and management prior to colonisation in Uganda and until the early years of the nineteenth century in England. In both countries, by the end of the nineteenth century, these communities were deemed unsuited to the task and were supplanted by religious and secular, private provision and management of schooling. These, in turn, were largely subsumed by state initiatives by the mid twentieth century, with a revival, in the 1990s, of community influence on state provided schools. Provision of some schooling returned to the users (or their parents) after the Amin phase in Uganda's history and in the early 1990s in England when it became possible for schools to opt out of local authority control by parental ballot and for parents to join together to form their own schools. The majority of schools, however, continue to be provided by governments but control of these began to move to local users in England in the 1980s and a similar movement can be discerned in Uganda.

Nineteenth century

Late twentieth century norms of community involvement as evidence of democracy might be deemed to have existed in Uganda during its pre-colonial period (until the late nineteenth century), when indigenous education catered for every member of society. The content imparted basic skills and societal norms, emphasising the importance of community involvement in which all members of society were deemed to have a right to be helpful to themselves and to the whole group (Ocitii, 1973, pp. 103 and 107). Each society was responsible for ensuring that their members received acceptable education. Community involvement in the education of the young ones was very strong; the inculcation of social norms and standards was seen as the embodiment of the community's strength, identity and pride (Tiberondwa, 1978, p. 4). Education was based on production learning, i.e. people learned as they produced; it was also expected to transmit the cultural heritage, including that of community involvement (Ocitti, 1973, pp. 56-61, 90, 92 & 95).

Colonial educators, arriving in the late nineteenth century, did not perceive production learning as 'schooling' nor did they recognise the community as teachers (Mackay, 1890). They came from societies which had begun to replace home-based learning with that of formal schooling and this pattern was to be replicated in Uganda. Lacking awareness of the format of formal schooling, Ugandan communities were not deemed to be capable of involvement nor did they themselves envisage it.

In England, mass schooling began to emerge from home provided education in the early nineteenth century (Adamson, 1930; Barnard 1969) and, like that of Uganda, was first developed by religious authorities, although there was also a strong private sector (Gardner, 1992) and schools provided by secular authorities as counterbalance to the religious bodies. All these schools were provided cheaply for poor children [5] but they were governed by selected boards of managers who came from the wealthier sections of the community with only a very few containing elected parent representatives (Gordon 1974). During the nineteenth century, central government gradually took a part in these developments, first through grants to these providers for school buildings, then through curriculum regulations enforced through payments for examination results and finally through the establishment of local authorities for education, the School Boards, charged with ensuring provision for all children not already in school.

There have been two major interpretation of these nineteenth century movements replacing community provision for some with state provision for all. It has been viewed as a necessary advance, led by central government and religious authorities assisting those unable to provide a full education and its concomitant opportunities for poor children (or the indigenous population) to improve their status is life (Adamson, 1930; Allen, 1934 ; Barnard, 1969; Craik, 1914; Dent, 1970; Elkington, 1993; Gosden, 1966; Kay-Shuttleworth, 1862; Selleck , 1994; Sneyd-Kinnersley, 1908). These centrist interpretations have been criticised for omitting to laud early community provision, for ignoring local roles in the developments and for failing to note the middle class hegemony emerging from these developments (Bowen, 1988; Gardner, 1992; Kyle, 1992; Simon, 1960; Stannard, 1990). Whatever the interpretations, the outcomes were that by the end of the nineteenth century in England, community provision had been replaced by state provision or assisted provision, parents were no longer classified as even indirect customers since fee paying had been abolished, state control was organised by area local government units run by elected councillors and, although school governing bodies existed, they were virtually powerless, they governed groups of schools rather than individual schools and had no elected element within them. In Uganda, religious provision had replaced community provision.

Twentieth century.

Ugandan education legislation from colonial times until the 1960s (SSekamwa and Lugumba, 1973), condoned a situation of non-involvement of the community in its schools. This situation arose because of the dominance of school control by religious authorities.

The first schools were founded by Christian missionaries in the early nineteenth century and the missionaries were the owners and managers of the schools (Tiberondwa, 1978), whose management format as been described as 'permissive paternalism' (Bell p. .27). Church and state were regarded as inseparable and no distinct traditions of a wider community involvement evolved. Three different school systems existed simultaneously as the different religious groups, (Roman Catholic, Protestant, Islamic) used school education as an instrument to win as many neophytes as possible. To receive education from any of these groups required adherence to that faith and acceptance of its authority. This was not, therefore, a climate conducive to the emergence of community involvement which was either non-existent or passive. The colonial government encouraged the religious groups to provide schools since it was felt that all resources had to be used for the safety and defence of Uganda (Hamidullah, 1991,p.75).

The connection between Christianity and authoritarian patterns of rule which would have excluded the local folks from developing ideas of community involvement, was reinforced by the need for missionaries to convert tribal leaders first. Hence 'With the conversion of leaders and future leaders in Buganda before the conversion of the local folks in the highly hierarchical and authoritarian Buganda administrative structure, Christian missions were afforded a powerful and sympathetic base...as the local folks were bound to abide by the decision of their leaders' (Gonahasa, 1991, p. 43). Once the missionaries began to establish formal schools, these were 'mainly used as instruments of evangelism' (Gonahasa, 1991, p. 47; Hamidullah 1991, p.76) , not therefore with an atmosphere conducive to establishing community power. Secondary education reinforced the connections with authoritarianism; the first high schools in Buganda, for example, were church establishments for the sons and daughters of chiefs (Gonahasa, 1991, p. 47).

Nonetheless, the Church in Uganda has been credited with developing ideas of 'Unity, democracy and self-government' (Gonahasa, 1991, p.50) long before the nationalist movement, particularly because of their need to train local catechists to whom authority for further convernsions could be delegated (Kyaligonza, 1991, p.33) ; such ideas were however subsumed into national movements rather than into those for local power. The only manifestation of community influence in the early twentieth century development of schooling in Uganda came as the missionary school graduates were employed in the civil service, spread out to work in the bush, and so encouraged local demands for education. 'It was...usually at the request of local people that the missions broke new ground' and established more schools (Bell, Ch. II) .

Colonial governments accepted the pattern of non-community involvement and there was gradual government extension into education control in the early twentieth century as the missions became less able to pay for schools. A national system of rules for education was introduced and local district councils gained some influence as fund raisers for schools (Bell, Ch. II). Education Acts and Regulations continued to give enormous power to the missionaries in matters concerning the running of schools. Government-mission partnership was given statutory force with the Education Ordinances of 1927, 1942 and 1959, although boards of governors for individual schools were introduced by the 1942 Ordinance. This situation continued after independence until schools were nationalised in 1964 by the first post-independence government and their new state provenance was underlined by the conferring of pwer on local school management committees (1969, Rules No. 224).

The Church of Uganda (the Protestant Church) relinquished all power over its schools, retaining only chairmanships of Boards of Governors (Gonahasa, 1991, p. 53). This led to major deterioration in the schools since everyone 'expected everything to be provided [by the government]...free of charge...The changing times in Uganda have proved us all wrong and demand that everybody must get involved if Uganda is to develop' (Gonahasa, 1991, p. 53). The Church of Uganda established aims for the development of community education early in the 1970s but little was achieved although since the fall of Amin, the plans have been revived (Gonahasa, 1991, pp. 59-61) .

From 1902 until the mid 1980s in England, school governing bodies appeared to hibernate. The form remained (schools continued to have governing bodies) but the substance did not operate. Real control lay with the local education authorities (L.E.As) as the managers of whole areas of schools. These L.E.As were, and are, elected by a much wider community than that of individual schools. During this period, which one might characterise as 'the long sleep' of governing bodies, the L.E.As largely directed educational provision. This might be described as a mini-centralisation since the each L.E.A. decided its school budgets, selected their schools' staff, issued curriculum guidelines for all their schools, drew up strategic plans for their areas, determined which schools could have new buildings or repairs done and whether or not children should wear school uniform. The l.e.as ran services such as peripatetic music teaching, school meals, transport, psychology, welfare, advice, training and inspection. Central government provided some of the finance and a vestigial direction role and responsibility for the national education system, in particular for the form of schooling adopted, for teachers' salaries and for decisions on the amount of money overall which the nation could afford to invest in education.

Between 1902 and the 1980s, England's commitment to the idea of elected local control remained strong and does indicate an acceptance of the general concept of community control, though focused on the L.E.As. Individual schools retained their appointed governing bodies and many had Parent Teacher Associations with elected committees which led these associations. The P.T.As were, and are, fund raising bodies though the amounts raised were always small and used largely for extra curricular provision such as football clothing, school outings, swimming pools or mini-buses. The provision of free education continues to be regarded as state responsibility.

In the process of Ugandan nationalisation, the ideas of community involvement were recognised in the 1969 Education (Management Committee) (Amendment) Rules. Each school, or group of schools, had to have a management committee. This consisted of four appointees of the area education committee (the equivalents of the English governor appointees of the same period. who were selected by the local education authority political parties), three appointees of the Chief Education Officer (no equivalent group existed then, or now, in the English system) and three elected parents. In this latter arrangement, Uganda was ahead of provisions in England. No elected governorships existed at this time, the Taylor Committee demanded their creation in 1977 (Taylor 1977) the category was enshrined in legislation in 1986 and the first parents were elected to office in 1988, almost twenty years after Uganda's formal institution of parental involvement.

School nationalisation did not, however, change the arrangements and community involvement in schools did not materialise. Indeed, there was even less control for the community than the missionaries or government agents had. The exigencies of nation building demanded centralisation. In 1991, it was possible to write that 'The Church...realises that the National Educational System is pyramidical in structure and elitist' (Akiiki, 1991) and for the Catholic church to be proposing the idea of community involvement through giving communities access to an educational fund which they would have the power to disburse and that educational work should be 'carried out and supported by the parish community' (Byabazaire, 1991, p. 136).

During the period of nationalisation from 1964, state education became very unpopular. In reaction to this, community involvement took the initiative and private schools were formed together with pressure groups in the form of Parents' Associations. These also existed for government schools. From 1972, when Idi Amin took power, subsequent developments in the education system did not provide a situation conducive to community participation in schooling. The whole country was under dictatorial rule and all democratic institutions were destroyed. The subsequent economic deterioration of the country precluded adequate government support for schools but in this emergency situation, the Parent Teacher Associations emerged as a force for the re-establishment of schools. They received enormous financial support from parents and began influencing school affairs although their involvement had no legal backing.

Parents, P.T.As, Management Committees and pre-colonial traditions of community education have been used as progenitors of a growing Ugandan movement demanding community involvement in all social affairs, especially education, which directly affect the citizens. Government responsiveness to these has grown as a movement away from the previously extensively centralised education system has developed. Uganda in the 1990s is experimenting with the same decentralisation as that of England as schools are expected to become self managing. Governments have, therefore, accepted the need to involve communities in school decision making and this is part of the government's decentralisation programme.

From the late 1970s in England, interest in re-developing community control for individual schools began to emerge. Parents' groups pressed for greater control of their children's' education (Astin *et al* 1988; Beattie, 1985; Munn, 1993; Taylor , 1977). Academics and practitioners developed the concepts of the self-managing school, free from government direction of its budget, staffing, buildings and curriculum (Abrahamsson, 1977; Caldwell, 1988; Coopers and Lybrand, 1988). Central government began demanding better results from schools, instituting a national curriculum from 1988 and requiring schools to undergo four yearly inspections. Coterminously, central government reduced the powers of the l.e.as, passing many of their duties to the newly revived school governing bodies.

CONCLUSIONS AND COMPARISONS

The development of community involvement in both Uganda and England has the common strands of desire for democracy, and its consequent citizen empowerment, and of desire to decrease central government's financial responsibility for education. Within both systems, one can also perceive the rubric of accountability, ostensibly as responsiveness to what citizens want [6] though perhaps more realistically defined as responsiveness to what central governments decide is what parents want [7]. Community representatives inform schools what citizens want while as state 'agents' they check that schools are providing what the state thinks citizens want. Educationalists have encouraged this responsiveness by highlighting the value of parental involvement in schooling to the happiness and achievements of the child (Adler*et al.*, 1989; Bastiani, 1989; Munn, 1993). In England, this parental responsiveness theme has been subsumed into seeing parents and the wider community as customers (Pignatelli. 1994; Woods, 1994); schools must meet their needs to go out of business. This concept is mediated through the financial strength of the Parent Teacher Associations in Uganda although competition for school places at secondary level, makes parents likely to adapt to school demands rather than forcing schools to adapt to their demands. The outcome of consumerism in England is the attempt to give parents a choice of schools for their children, an outcome not possible with Uganda's limited resources, inability to provide all eligible children with a school place and poor transport facilities. None the less, the responsiveness to parental wishes can be seen in the rapid growth of Uganda's provision: between 1980 and 1990, the number of primary schools increased by 89% and the number of secondary schools by 466% (World Bank, 1993, p.31, para 4.04). In both countries, there is the search for effectiveness and efficiency in the use of public money with community representatives seen as institutional monitors. The search, however, gives rise to a question in both countries about the effectiveness and efficiency of community involvement itself: 'Would new management and administrative strategies in education produce better results in so far as education costs and accountability are concerned?' (Bitamazire 1991, p. 26; Esp and Saran, forthcoming; Thody, 1994; Curtis 1994, in Thody, ibid.), a question that leads to discussion on the future possibilities for community involvement.

FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

The preceeding section of this paper emphasised the similarities between Uganda and England in their histories and format of community involvement in school governance. The possibilities of useful ideas exchange between the two countries rest partly on such comparabilities yet superficially, they appear to have little in common.

Uganda has immense poverty, only now (1990s) beginning to advance much beyond its immediate post-independence state of 'few export crops...,lack of basic industries...an illiterate population, high infant mortality...low income per person' (Ministry, 1989, Vol. I, p. 4) . Educational indicators underline the differences; 17% of the eligible Ugandan population enter secondary education; 48% of boys and 29% of girls complete primary education. These figures have improved markedly in the lst year and 50% of all eligible children are now estimated to be in primary schools (Sky, 1995) but comparable English figures would be virtually 100%. There is a high drop-out rate in Uganda in both primary and secondary phases because, it is surmised, of the high fees and poor quality of education [8]. In contrast, there is concern in England at a twenty five per cent drop-out rate between compulsory secondary and optional tertiary phase. An average of 39% of Ugandan primary teachers are untrained but this figure masks considerable regional variations; there are no untrained teachers practising in Kampala but elsewhere, around 70% are untrained. Almost all England's teachers are graduates and teacher trained. Ugandan P.T.A. funds have to be used to support teachers' salaries and since districts vary in their abilities to raise funds, so do teachers' salaries. Teachers are one of the worst paid occupational groups in Uganda and many have second jobs (World Bank, 1993, p. 33, paras 4.11, 4.12) English teachers' salaries are met from school budgets provided by central and local taxation and would be regarded as providing a comfortable living. Ugandan parental commitment to their children's education is generally very strong (Furley, 1988, p. 194) ; families make great sacrifices to keep their children at school, the fees being regarded as having 'first call on family incomes' (Kajubi, 1991, p. 323). The consequent power of Parent Teacher Associations is leading Uganda to consider how they might be incorporated into the formal system of school governance, not a topic that excites English interest where P.T.As are of much less significance.

Uganda is an African country, formerly a British colony, which became independent in 1962. Enormous importance attaches to education; up to twenty per cent of the national budget has been spent on educational provision but there are major shortages of teachers who have poor pay and conditions. Successive rulers since independence have followed dictatorial approaches to government and the civil wars have exacerbated the challenges. A commitment to democracy at all levels has only been accepted since the National Resistance Movement came to power in 1986. England is a European country, with a history of imperial power, long independent and committed to democratic controls on dictatorial power. Just under 5% of its national budget is committed to education but its importance as a sector has declined with decreases in the number of school age children and as unemployment demonstrates that educational qualifications do not always lead to a job.

Such differences may. however, be perceived as differences of degree, rather than of kind. The 1995 English teachers' pay increase was regarded as inadequate to meet rises in the cost of living; many schools protested their ability to pay the rise, threatening to have to sack teachers and increase class sizes. Absentee rate in some inner city schools give cause for concern in England; regional differences exist in that less popular areas attract less experienced and less well qualified staff. P.T.As are having to accept that their funds are beginning to be used to buy items previously provided by government. Both countries have been undergoing major educational changes since the mid 1980s, a change in basic political attitudes and significant economic difficulties. Both share an inheritance of 'Britishness' transmuted through the modern Commonwealth.

The issues with which school governance is faced could be deemed similar in both countries and governors in each country perceive themselves as facing insurmountable problems. It is likely, for example, that those in governance positions in both countires would subscribe to this list of functions of governors listed in a Commonwealth publication for Afican headteachers:

- to ensure the at the school is conducted to provide educational services in accordance with the provisions of the relevant educational laws
- to develop and contol the general policy of the school

- to hold meetings regularly...to discuss the despatch of the school's business
- to prepare the school's annual budget, for approval and submission to the relevant education authorities for the provision of government grants
- to ensure that all funds of the school are properly managed
- to hold an annual survey of the school to verify it physical operation in relation to the financial expenditure
- to hold the head of the school responsible for the effective operation of the school and for the provision of information to the board to enable it to make informed decisions. (Atta-Quayson, 1993, p. 16).

In helping governors to to cope with these, responsibilities, both countries are trying some similar approaches (outlined in Part I, previously published in *ISEA*) which may reinforce our ideas of best practice, if found to work in both countries. Where there are different solutions being trialled, the alternatives may offer possibilities for testing in the other nation. While the trials continue, common challenges are emerging. These are discussed below.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO ADULT LITERACY AND POLITICAL SKILLS.

Community involvement contributes directly to improvement in basic and functional literacy and indirectly to political literacy. The need for these may seem most obvious in Uganda where, for example, 38% of women have received no education and only 19% have completed primary school (World Bank, 1993, p. 5, para 1.16 , p. 36, para 4.25) but advances in literacy can be provided for English governors who have not previously had opportunities to deal with, for example, agendas, meeting techniques and report writing. The political opportunities from governance provide experience for many who would not usually expect to participate in civic life, thus enhancing political skills (Earley ,1994) valuable to democratic polities. In Uganda, the slow development of democratic skills in the population, despite the obvious commitment of the national government to the ideals, has been attributed to the lack of citizenship training (Kajubi, 1991, p. 328) and to uneven educational provision and participation in the different areas of Uganda (Kajubi, 1991, p. 329). School governance participation may help meet these challenges.

Both countries have training schemes for community participants in the governance of education. In Uganda, many of the people elected to both the Committees and the Management Boards lack a knowledge of education and of the management skills which would enable them to participate effectively in decision making. The government has identified this problem and through the Education Reform Programme, with sponsorship from the World Bank and USAID, modules, training materials and a management training programme have been developed through the Support for Uganda Primary Education Reform Project (SUPER). These will be used for training headteachers, education officers and members of management committees at local level centres and the original trainees will then cascade the learning back to their own Committees or Management Boards.

In England, governor training (DES, 1990; Mahoney, 1994) was made a free entitlement for all school governors from the 1986 Education Act. The Act did not, however, specify what form the training should take, nor how much training should be offered, nor was training made compulsory. No training is offered for elected representatives to the Local Education Authorities. Some areas of England began governor training before it became a statutory requirement but in most areas, it was the legislation that forced the initiation of governor education. Most Local Education Authorities appointed a governor training co-ordinator to plan and direct training for all the schools in their areas. Most have offered a varied programme of short courses at local centres, distance learning materials, regional conferences and, from the early 1990s, have begun to offer training sessions in individual schools supported by consultants. Governors themselves have usually been involved in planning this provision and increasingly have been involved in providing it as they gained confidence and knowledge. The cascade model has been tried but was not found to be overly successful. In addition to this training, private consultants and universities have offered courses which school could purchase for their governors. The national associations for

governors also offer training courses and there has been a plethora of books, videos and other learning materials for governors to buy. The government has issued a Handbook to all governors and some businesses with employees who are governors, have devised their own training books. Usually, the training consists of acquainting governors with the law relating to their roles in the major areas of the management of finance, staff, the curriculum, pupil and staff discipline. Governors will also receive some skills training, such as how to negotiate and how to organise meetings, together with discussions on current educational debates, such as those over the National Curriculum and on how to apportion their duties with those of the headteacher.

In comparison with Uganda, this must seem an embarrassment of riches. In addition, all school governors in England will have completed secondary education and many will have taken the opportunities to proceed to further and higher education. It is interesting to note, therefore, as a governor trainer, how often I hear remarks from professional educators that replicate those made of Ugandans, e.g. many of the people elected as governors lack a knowledge of education and of the management skills which would enable them to participate effectively in decision making. The proposed solution is generally to offer more and better training and this is usually to be provided by education professionals. Training by education professionals may produce more effective governors but it has also been found to produce governors who are more supportive of their schools. Once governors are apprised of the problems facing teachers and how teachers have struggled to overcome these, the governors become the protectors of schools, deflecting criticisms and perhaps, thereby, ceasing to provide the monitorial voice of outside.

POTENTIAL DESTABILISATION

Community involvement could be destabilising. In 1968, Baron and Howell recommended that English governing bodies' powers should not be increased because they are a 'potentially disruptive and unpredictable element' (Baron and Howell, 1968, p. 194), a conclusion reinforced by 1993 research on the advent of community empowerment in British public service management generally:

> Involvement and empowerment...[are]...threatening to the hierarchies, routines and negotiated order of the organisation. They involve inviting, supporting and encouraging people from outside the agency to have a say in determining which services are provided in what ways...the process is about people who are not employees or even specialists...having a real effect on the review, design and monitoring - and perhaps delivery and management (Skelcher 1993, p. 13).

In both countries, communities have been given enhanced powers to control their local schools but the threat of destabilisation has not yet materialised in either country. Community governance remains supportive of its schools (Bacon, 1978; Kogan, 1984: Thody, 1994), not yet powerful and apparently disinclined, or unable, to unite to voice objections either within the micro-polity of the school or the macro-polity of the state (Thody 1995).

There are, however, some signs of change. In 1994, English school governors formed a National Governors' Council; in 1995, some English school governors threatened to resign or to set deficit budgets[9] unless the Government increased investment in schools; there have been a few individual cases where governors have been in serious dispute either with their schools' principals, with their local authorities or with Government (Auld 1976.; Batteson and Syndercombe-Court, 1994; Culloden, 1991; Galton and Patrick, 1989, Ch. 7). In Uganda, parents object to their increasing direct contributions to their children's schooling through fees and fund raising which together account for between 65% and 90% of the total funding for education, teachers being almost entirely dependent on P.T.A. funding for their salaries (World Bank, 1993, p. 35, para 4.22; p. 37, para 4.28).

How far this evidence amounts to a development of community involvement in schools as a new macro- or micro- political force is not yet clear. It will depend on the extent

to which governments and headteachers are really prepared to allow communities to have control and direction of education and on the extent to which local communities are willing to take on the full responsibilities of the governance position. In both countries, it is central governments which decide the amount of money to be spent on education and what is to be taught in the curriculum. In Uganda, central government also controls teacher employment, their pay and conditions of service [10]. In England, there are currently (1995) nationally agreed salary scales and conditions of service though it is intimated that this may soon change. In both countries, schools are inspected by central government arrangements. In contrast, both countries have a current philosophy of decentralisation. In Uganda, however, there is de facto centralisation (Bitamazire, 1991) overt commitment to the principle of deconcentration hiding lack of real support for delegation (Nzibambi, 1991, p. 295), a description arguably also pertinent to England. Persuading central governments to relinquish power to governance structures will be helped by the emergence of national governance pressure groups, as is happening in England. Currently, this development is weakened by there being several such groups; uniting them would strengthen the position considerably. No such body exists in Uganda.

PARTICIPANTS IN GOVERNANCE.

The volunteer principle is common to both Uganda and England. Members of school management committees, resistance councils, local education committees, school governing bodies and local education authorities are all unpaid and conduct their responsibilities in addition to their usual occupations. This requires members to contribute their personal time to jobs which can require considerable and increasing commitment. Despite this, school governance still attracts candidates though in England, there is evidence of vacancies (Thody, 1995) and failure to attract candidates will undermine the continuance of community involvement.

Its continuance also faces the challenge of relying on a very narrow sector of society. The majority of English school governors emanate from what might be described as middle class backgrounds (Buckby, 1992; Thody, 1994, p. 20). There are few from the many ethnic minorities in England's multi-cultural society, even in school areas in which these minorities predominate. There are slightly fewer female than male governors; the number of female governors has declined since the reforms of the 1980s and female governors are fewer on secondary school governing bodies that they are on primary school governing bodies. School governors' occupations tend to be from the upper social-economic groupings. While these facts make it appear that governing bodies are not representative of the full range of society, it is now true that in the main they do represent the users of the schools since many governors are parents of school pupils at state schools (which would not have been true until the mid 1980s reforms) and they do represent a much wider band of society than currently serves in either the national parliament or the local education authorities (Deem, 1989 and 1994; Thody, 1994a; Wright ,1994) .

In Africa, similar problems of unrepresentative governance exist. Case studies suggested to African headteachers in training asked the participants to solve a conflict between a teacher and a 'well-to-do school committee member,..[with]relations holding key posts in the Ministry' (Atta-Qualying, 1993, p. 40). Those elected to the Resistance Councils at all levels appear to be better educated and with better paid jobs than the failed nominees (Ministry , 1989 , Vol. I, p. 5) and there appears to be some resistance from certain groups of parents to standing for service on the P.T.As (Kajubi, 1991, p. 325). Nonetheless, in Uganda, there has been an effort to increase community involvement by decentralisation, empowering the community to deal with all matters affecting their social lives. By making schools more relevant to the perceived needs of society, it is hoped to increase both accountability and community commitment to education. The reform programme intends to cause schools to relate more to community needs and so to persuade the community to give more support to schools. The current structures established have the support of all the divergent cultures that exist in Uganda but encouragement needs to be given to utilise the structures. The development of these forms of local democratic involvement may be of

great significance in the future development of Uganda's democracy; Uganda's forty different tribes do not facilitate national political groupings and the divisiveness of national political parties may seem unsustainable in Uganda's current (1995) situation of rebuilding its economy, social and political structures. Local democracy does not conflict with tribal loyalties nor national rebuilding and its mediation through school involvement may prove to be a model for recreating active citizenship.

In England too, the example of school governance as a means of ensuring accountability close to 'the people' may be a model that repays extension. Governance may prove to be the model for future involvement of volunteer citizens as activists in many organs of government as state services become unsustainable using paid employees.

DIVIDING POWERS AMONGST THE COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVE BODIES AND HEADTEACHERS.

Despite the laudable aims of community empowerment attending these reforms, the lack of clear definition of what different parts of the system can be expected to do is confusing the establishment of power patterns.

In Uganda, the effectiveness of the Resistance Councils has been 'reduced by lack of economic infrastructure and civic competence, and fragmented political elites...[and] the delay of government and RCs in defining the proper relationship between RCs and older institutions' (Nzibambi, 1991, p. 279). There is a need particularly to de cide whether or not to formalise the place of P.T.As in the national system (Bitamazire, 1991, p. 26). In England, there is a need to clarify the distribution of powers between governing bodies and L.E.As (Heller with Edwards, 1992, p. 153; National Commission on Education, 1993, pp. 355-6).

The relationship between governing bodies and their headteachers is currently (1995) the subject of much debate in both countries and models vary from schools where the headteachers could be said to lead the governing body, to those where the head could be seen as more of an adviser or as a managing director subject to a board of directors like that which operates in a commercial business. In Uganda, headteachers' professional skills and knowledge and their position as secretaries to both committees of management and P.T.As, make them powerful gatekeepers (Bitamazire, 1991, p. 27; USAID, 1990, pp. 33-4). In contrast with England, Ugandan management committees do not appoint headteachers and they do have clearer delineation of headteachers' powers as specified in the 1969 ordinance (Section 8). The Head is responsible to the committee. The Head's duty is to arrange the curriculum and religious instruction, for pupil admissions and for the collection of fees. The head can exclude or suspend pupils after consultation with the disciplinary committee composed of the teaching staff (in England, this disciplinary committee is a sub-group of the governing body). The Head reports or recommends actions to discipline staff to the a.e.o. Where a management committee rejects the Head's advice, the a.e.o. must be informed.

In England, headteacher professionalism has likewise contributed to their covert domination of governing bodie (Bush, Kogan and Lenney, 1989, p. 74-5; Thody, 1994, pp. 22-8) although they do not hold any official positions within them nor the P.T.As. Heads seem in a weaker position to their Ugandan counterpart since English heads are appointed by their governing bodies, who set their salaries and whose chairperson is entitled to see the head's appraisal records. In both countries, however, it would be fair to assert that there remains 'plenty of scope for variety of interpretation and practice', a statement first made in 1970 (Birley , 1970, p. 41).

IMPROVING EDUCATION

There is growing recognition that local communities played an important role in establishing public education systems and that this role should be recreated since, for example, it was believed that 'the pace of expansion of [Ugandan] primary education must very largely depend on the drive and initiative of local communities' (Bell, p.51) and the development of European and Asian education provision was certainly due to local community pressure in Uganda. More recently, the central role of local bodies in persuading

parents and communities to has been emphasised 'to mobilise additional resources for boosting quality' in Uganda (USAID, 1990, p. 69) . In England, the general assumptions behind the legislative changes since the mid 1980s has been the efficacious result expected from allowing school governance the opportunity to select responses to local needs.

Local controllers, however, may not always agree with central policy priorities. In the mid twentieth century, for example, local Ugandan councillors chose to allocate funds to secondary school bursaries rather than to primary education even though central government felt that the primary infrastructure was the more vital. Attempts by Ugandan governments to increase the access of girls to education and to Africanise the curriculum have been impeded by local communities continuing to value boys' education more highly than that of girls and Europeanised education to that of indigenism[11]. In England, in 1993, school governors supported their schools' decision not to set the first Key Stage III National Curriculum tests and in 1995, threatened to resign or to set deficit budgets unless central government increased funding for education. Such differences of opinion seem likely to recur as governance matures and mechanisms for resolving the concomitant conflicts appear to be necessary.

CONCLUSIONS - GOING WIDER

In both countries, patterns of community involvement, their structures and representative mechanisms, powers, training and duties, seem remarkably similar for countries with such apparently different cultures. Is this because the colonial inheritance continues to influence Uganda's system or because of global imperatives to devolution and to the need to save money by using volunteer labour to manage schools ? Is it because of strengthening democratic imperatives, seeking for ways of involving increasingly diverse ethic groups in England, in government at all levels, and, in Uganda, in the determination to avoid the return of an Amin-style dictatorship and in desires to ensure routes for representation of the divergent cultures within Uganda ? Is it because of continued links amongst Commonwealth countries, retaining emphasis through similar training and professional associations such as the Commonwealth Council for Educational Administration ? If the differences are as slight as appears to be the case from this preliminary investigation, does this mean that the notions of cultural indigenism of educational administration are not as strong as might be imagined ? Alternatively, is what has been described in this paper a similarity that is more apparent than real since it has focused on the legal forms ? What happens in the practice of school governance ? Investigating the practice should be the second stage of this research, focusing on an in-depth study of two governing boards, one in each country.

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1 The first is from Africa (Atta-Quayson *et al*, 1993, p.15) and the second from Europe (Thody, 1994, pp. 219-20).

2 Important because many Ugandan teachers have to take second jobs to supplement their pay.

3 This has echoes in the English arrangements whereby the proportion of elected parent governors is gradually being reduced as new types of schools are instituted by central

government. The majority of schools have about one quarter of their governors elected by the parents, but grant maintained schools (directly controlled by central government) and city technology colleges (controlled by sponsoring companies and central government) will have fewer.

4 The format of governance described here is that for the majority of English and Welsh schools which are maintained by the L. E. As. There are five other formats, all slightly different though all embody the same principles of a mixture of elected, nominated and co-opted governors from varying constituencies of parents, teachers, political parties, businesses and community groups. A table summarising the differences is in Thody, 1995.

5 Fees were payable until almost the end of the nineteenth century; in Uganda fees continue to be payable.

6 Hence, for example the English Parents' Charter. (DfE, 1992)

7 Parents in Uganda, for example, favour academic education, though this has been criticised, as elsewhere in Africa, for producing too many white collar workers for whom the economy has too few jobs. The government would prefer more vocational relevance, hence current stress on indigenism or community education (Sifuna, 1994; Kabou, 1995, p. 8).

8 These figures are estimated to be the worst in Sub-saharan Africa (World Bank, 1993, p.5, para 1.17; p.6 para 1.18-9; p. 31, para 4.05).

9 Around 85 per cent of funds are devolved to schools which take their budget decisions autonomously. They cannot legally set a budget anticipating overspend.

10 Teaching staff are posted, or transferred, to schools by the area education officers under the direction of the chief education officer. A school's management committee, and the

teacher concerned, may appeal against this posting. The management committee appoints non-teaching staff, after consulting with the assistant education officer.

11 Bell , pp. 67-68, p. 87; the persistence of community opposition to girls education can be judged by seeing the similarities between the attitudes described in bell with the much later 1990 survey, view: USAID, 1990, p. 55.